

Football FA Cup fifth round: Aston Villa 0 Coventry City 1

Coventry enjoy their Villa Park outing

Jeremy Alexander

WEMBLEY would give a lot for weather on May 16 like last Saturday's. On current showing it would not riled Coventry, too, for the Cup final. The Sky Blues are playing on cloud nine, Villa simply under a cloud — which is why Coventry, at the 27th attempt, won at Villa Park for the first time. It has taken 62 years. Just now they believe in themselves more than huddles.

Coventry's Cup record since they won it in 1987 has also been wretched. They are normally out there before the cooers, let alone the daftos. This will be their first quarter-final for 11 years, and they have reached it with first-time victories over Liverpool, Derby and Villa the first and last of their away.

The Elton Boning Song is their traditional signature tune and they all pulled together for Gordon Strachan, the touchline coo whose passion brought a referee's rebuke for overstepping his territory. By contrast Brian Little stood pensive and indelible in his winter waterproofs — and Savo Milošević was not in the vicinity.

Last Sunday, the chairman Doug Ellis said his door is open to the discontented Yugoslav, who has not played for a month. Little could do with penicillin — without Dwight Yorke, he was virtually obliged to stick with Stan Collymore, not that he has shown sign of dropping him anyway.

What started as faith in his ability to get the best from a wayward tal-



Villain of the piece... Gareth Southgate gets to grips with Coventry's Darren Huckerby during the Midlands derby at Villa Park

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID GAVES

ent is looking like self-defeating obstinacy. In 30 starts Collymore, all \$10.5 million of Villa's record buy, has scored five goals, none significant. An advert for Villa's managers shows him standing over a PC with the legend "The quietest in the Premiership".

His concern at losing possession was almost defiant and ultimately fatal. After 70 minutes his loss first touch set Coventry off again on a move which ended with George Boateng — a snip at \$375,000 — cutting in from the right past Alan Wright, Gareth Southgate

and Ugo Ehiogu before drawing another elastic save from Mark Bosnich. The ball ran to Vitor Melillo, Coventry's record buy at \$8 million, who tapped in his first City goal.

Villa could have been four down by then, three to Trond Sollied.

Bosnich denied him with a half-volley, then Julian Joachim shot off the line. Sollied and Boateng were conspicuous in support of their front two and Strachan's Gavin, making his first start since a reserve midfield, contributed fully. Dion Dublin was natural at the heart of it — at both ends, going into defence when Melillo came on for Richard Shaw.

In World Cup terms the home fan will have noted how Dublin was discomfited by Dublin in the air and by Darren Huckerby, Villa, newly signed in 442, will have used a sweeper, but Dublin thinking rigidly under pressure. The team reflected their boss, a Coventry defender, the one indecipherable, the other perky.

Strachan said of Melillo: "He's been getting a little bit wobbly on the bench. He's concerned he may be able to impress the manager's coach in our reserves. But he's intelligent, and he understands at front two have been playing with their skins."

Little was late for his press conference, but honest when he arrived. "Coventry were better than us," he said. "Without Bosnich could have been a lot more of one."

Southgate said: "When you go through a bad time, you look at each other and pick things up. They got us further in the looking. Coventry need to look at Wembley and the way of jolly beating weather."

Sixth-round draw: Arsenal Crystal Palace v West Ham or Blackburn Rovers; Coventry City Sheffield United; Leeds United Newcastle United v Manchester United or Barnsley.

Rugby Union Newcastle 43 Harlequins 15

Newcastle hit top form

Michael Prestage

NEWCASTLE regained their position at the top of the Premiership table, so presumptuously taken by Saracens last Saturday, with a six-try display that swept aside Harlequins and left no doubt who the champions are. Newcastle's victory was apparent as half-time through the season.

Newcastle's coach Steve Bates described the difficulty in preparing eight players mentally drained after international matches the previous weekend, but it was difficult to discern any ill-effects.

Two years ago Quins won this fixture. It is a measure of the revolution undertaken at Newcastle that they are in a different class from the Londoners.

Once the home pack had taken control, the visitors were blitzed in a first-half display that saw 31 points rattled up, including three tries in five minutes just before the interval. Quins' first-half reply was a Rob Lilley penalty.

Early in the second half Newcastle began slowly and but for a series of dropped passes which thwarted Quins' attacking ambitions the visitors might have scratched an early lead. With the Newcastle line-out secure and the pack scrumming well the forwards' irrepressible driving rugby gave the

backs ample opportunity to prosper.

Andy Keast, Quins' coach, said the supremacy of the pack was decisive. "We played well for 25 minutes but then their power took over."

After 16 minutes the group Paul Van Zandvoort was held up on the Quins' line, and from the ensuing scrum Newcastle forwards almost drove over three times before the wing Jim Stanger finished the opening try.

But the three tries in that glorious spell before the interval finished the contest. The first came when a power kick by Quins' full-back Jim Stanger was returned with interest. When flanker Pat Lam was finally held the ball was quickly recycled.

Minutes later, when wing Doug Luger was caught in his leg-area he conceded a try. Strachan, and Newcastle's captain Dean Ryan had a simple pounce over try.

Underwood added his second try to increase the lead. The tries by Quins just before the hour were a mere blip in the onslaught. Newcastle's scrumming quarter lying ahead in the Quins line before Martin Leslie scored on the stroke of half-time.

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Clinton puts Iraq on trial over deal

Martin Kettle in Washington, Ian Black in London and Julian Barter in Baghdad

THE United States on Monday gave its tentative approval to a deal with Iraq struck by the United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, but insisted that the use of force would be automatic if Saddam Hussein again obstructed weapons inspectors.

President Clinton, backed by his ally Tony Blair, said that US acceptance of the agreement was conditional upon the full implementation of UN resolutions.

"I hope today's agreement will prove to be the step forward that we have been looking for," he said in a broadcast from the Oval Office at the White House. "But the proof is in the testing."

Mr Clinton described the agreement secured by Mr Annan at the weekend as "a written commitment to provide immediate, unrestricted and unconditional access to the United Nations special commission weapons inspectors to all suspect sites in Iraq". There would be repeat visits to the sites and no deadlines, he added.

Mr Annan was set to present the deal to the full UN Security Council on Tuesday. He expressed confidence that the agreement would win international backing.

Mr Annan believes he obtained unmet access to suspected weapons sites by offering Iraq a vaguely-worded promise of "light at the end of the tunnel" — accelerated inspections leading to the eventual lifting of sanctions.

"The accord which we have just signed is quite sound and, even if there are discussions at the Security Council I do not expect they will be too tough, but you never know," he said.

Mr Clinton said: "All Americans should have a positive reaction to the fact that we have a commitment, if fully implemented — and that is the big if — this commitment will allow us to fulfil our mission."

Clinton said the threats of military action had been instrumental in achieving the diplomatic outcome, he said: "Once again we have seen that diplomacy must be backed by strength and resolve."

He made it clear that US troops would remain in the Gulf region "in force" to ensure that Iraq carried out its side of the agreement. "I intend to keep our forces at high levels of readiness," he said.

Mr Clinton stressed that his acceptance of the deal was not unconditional, saying: "There are issues that still need to be clarified to our satisfaction and details that need to be worked over."

Later, however, he told a "question and answer" session that he can resolve those things to our satisfaction.

The US president revealed that he had agreed that senior diplomats appointed by Mr Annan would accompany the UN inspectors to the eight disputed presidential palaces which were the source of the controversy. "What really matters is Iraq's compliance," he said. "Not what it says but what it does."

But even before Mr Annan left Baghdad doubts about the durability of the deal were growing. The state-run Iraqi News Agency trumpeted an Iraqi victory and claimed that the presidential sites at the heart of the crisis could only be inspected under "specific criteria".

But according to Paris on his way back to the UN in New York, Mr Annan said: "President Saddam and the Iraqi government accept that we can visit all eight palaces. Tomorrow."



Kofi Annan, UN secretary-general (left), and Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, sign the agreement

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Mr Annan said there were "no time limits or deadlines" in the deal, said on Monday that President Saddam had outlasted Washington in the crisis. The deal would only prolong the suffering of the Iraqi people, they added.

"The United States has made serious miscalculations twice — once in 1991 when they didn't finish Saddam, and now because they strongly and wrongly believed that Saddam would not back down. He surprised them and climbed down," said Waheed Samarra, the London-based former head of Iraqi military intelligence. "We have to admit that Saddam Hussein has achieved a victory which we hope will be temporary."

And he confirmed that Britain would be seeking a tough, new Security Council resolution giving the UN the right to respond "by whatever means necessary" if the Iraqi dictator broke his word. "I think what is very important is that we have this new resolution that makes it absolutely clear we are not going out into some long-drawn-out diplomatic game again," he said.

Reaction among ordinary Iraqis to the deal was muted, with many saying they would reserve judgment for the day sanctions imposed after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait ended.

It is essential we are not back in this position in a few weeks' or months' time — Tony Blair

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The Guardian Weekly

Middle East has no cause to rejoice

OPINION

Martin Woollacott

THE great wave of relief which echoed the globe on Monday as it became clear that Kofi Annan had managed a deal with Saddam Hussein to avert an American attack on Iraq ought to have been followed by a great wave of shame. The deal has been done with a uniquely evil man, it gives him much of what he wants, and it probably consigns the Iraqi people to many more years under the most depraved of dictatorships. It may not even lead off bombing, which could still impact, sooner or later, it will have profoundly dangerous effects in the Middle East, among other things possibly setting off a more intense regional race to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

This is not to say that an American attack, if it had come or if it still comes, would not have the same or worse results. Assuming the bomb did not fall, we will have provided a bad war only in order to make a bad peace. All the powers concerned bear a share of the blame for the failures and mistakes which, over the years, led inexorably to a situation where the world was faced with the diabolical choice between the two.

The United States was at the same time over-ambitious in its Middle Eastern objectives and lacking in will and competence in carrying them out. It proposed to contain both Iraq and Iran, but succeeded in containing neither. It proposed to change the regime in Iraq, but visited this by its preference for a military success. It proposed to bring about a peace settlement between Israelis and Palestinians, but has continued on page 3

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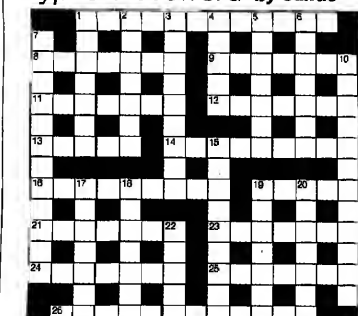
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Cryptic crossword by Janus



Across

- 1 Strong board may be needed to make it (4,8)
- 2 Essayist on the ball in bed perhaps (7)
- 3 The forerunner of that (7)
- 4 Original character (7)
- 5 Mel delivered in answer to pop group (7)
- 6 Sulphur found in openings for an intake (5)
- 7 The most able 150 get to the summit (6)
- 8 Asset possibly involving danger to stars (9)
- 9 Saucy-sounding painter (5)
- 21 Makes mark by doubling lines on pitch (7)
- 22 Ship that will take the motorist's luggage? (7)
- 24 Bird's egg in roll (7)
- 25 Order ions revolutionary to infiltrate military group (7)
- 26 Features of some British cars abroad (7,5)

Down

- 1 Materials produced if crabs are crushed (7)
- 2 Jest at mass meetings (7)
- 3 Protective measure for ill-used hair (9)

Last week's solution



Albright's night on the town ends in jeers

WASHINGTON DIARY
Martin Kettle

AS A conscientious reporter, I had switched on the television to watch the event from Clinton State, but I had done so with expectations. I'll get on with something else, I thought, with that in the background. It was just possible that Madeleine Albright might utter some lightly different phrase to her endlessly repeated formulations about United States policy towards Iraq that would be worth parsing for the readers. Or conceivably William Cohen would take the opportunity to make some further announcement about fresh deployments in the Gulf. Unlike in both cases, but better than both sorry.

Albright had just begun to speak, and I was starting to do something quite unrelated to Iraq, when the first shouts began. Like all at people watching, I suspected. I initially discounted their significance. One has become accustomed, in recent years, to the occasional heckler breaching the security and disrupting political meetings in America and in Britain.

The event in Columbus, Ohio, reached its careful planning and modern political stage management. It came laid on the heels of a speech by President Clinton at the Pentagon in which he spelled out the Iraq objectives with greater care and in greater detail than before, and in which he appeared to address some of the issues that the published opinion polls, and doubtless also his own private surveys, had identified as troubling to some Americans.

The next day, a formidable trio of US foreign policy makers — secretary of state Albright, defence secretary Cohen and the president's national security adviser Sandy Berger — was dispatched by the White House to conduct a televised "town meeting" on the administration's Iraq policy. They had been sent to what the scriptwriters al-

ways call "the American heartland" so that viewers could see that a rational and humane Iraq policy was being made by these rational and humane people, people who could communicate well and reassuringly.

Any resemblance to a true town meeting was, one supposed, superficial and illusory. In a true town meeting, the doors are opened and anyone who is interested can come in. In a town meeting, the door is thrown open to the public so that they can make their own views clear. In a town meeting, the flow of the debate is spontaneous and unpredictable.

But modern politics abhors spontaneity or unpredictability. Modern politics is about getting a message across to an audience that doesn't answer back. The purpose of the audience is to give an illusion that people like you are listening open-mindedly to what the politician has to say and to respond enthusiastically to the politician's message. Dialogue is never the purpose of a modern political meeting.

The set-up in Ohio whiffed support from the security and disrupting political meetings in America and in Britain. The event in Columbus, Ohio, reached its careful planning and modern political stage management. It came laid on the heels of a speech by President Clinton at the Pentagon in which he spelled out the Iraq objectives with greater care and in greater detail than before, and in which he appeared to address some of the issues that the published opinion polls, and doubtless also his own private surveys, had identified as troubling to some Americans.

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modern political public relations. The shouts which accompanied Albright's opening remarks continued through Cohen's and Berger's too. They became chants — of "No War", of "No World War" and of "No War". They developed into a chant, "No War", and they were repeated over and over again. The audience at home and even more, one suspected, the very small number of Iraqi government officials who have access to CNN and who are familiar with using the Aljazeera-based network as a modern-day diplomatic courier service.

No wonder, then, that there was so little expectation that the Ohio meeting would consist of anything other than the familiar format of

ports Saidam Hussein; second, that the administration was embarking on a course of action whose conclusion was genuinely unclear; and, third, that American public opinion is divided and sceptical about the role which the administration is seeking to exercise in Iraq.

Ohio State was a famous debacle. Clearly, someone in the White House blundered in their preparations. And in the ensuing days officials scamped to distance themselves from responsibility. On the other hand, if they had taken the trouble to read an opinion poll in the Columbus Dispatch earlier that week, which showed that fewer than one in five voters in Ohio supported military rather than diplomatic action to solve the Iraq weapons crisis, then they might

have better understood the situation into which they sent the hapless Albright and her colleagues.

Nothing in modern politics is ever quite what it seems, and one should not assume that what we saw at Ohio State was a new, campus-based anti-war protest movement of the sort which disabled the US in Vietnam 30 years ago. But the echoes were unmistakable, and that was how it struck a lot of people to whom I spoke both inside and outside Washington last week.

Whichever with a true note or a false one, Ohio State lifted a warning bell for the Clinton administration's Iraq policy, and the perception, built at home and abroad, has damaged the president at a time when few other reasons he could fill it.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 1 1998

Suharto has his back to the wall

Martin Jacques in Jakarta

IF YOU ARE patient and wait until April, you will see the last revolution of the 20th century.

Dr Hermanus Sulistyono was deadly serious. He carefully produced from his briefcase the chronology of Indonesia's imminent revolution, which he wrote last November. "Everything has so far been proved right," he said.

The snag that blanketed Indonesia in a terrible haze for months on end last year has returned with a vengeance and is now covering parts of Sumatra and Borneo. But the more worrying fact spots this year are those caused by economic collapse and boiling ethnic tensions in this huge country of 200 million people.

Pasuruan is a small town, 90 kilometres north of the capital, which experienced its first riot last week. "It started in June," said Teddy, a local pharmacist. "It lasted until three in the afternoon."

The evidence was all too plain to see. About 30 shops had been burned down and many others looted. Closed. Owners had sprayed "Muslim", "Pro-Muslim" or "Islam" on their shutters in a desperate bid to prevent their businesses from going the same way.

According to Teddy, most of the wrecked shops had been Chinese-owned. Most of the small Chinese minority seemed to have left town, frightened for their lives. "People are hungry and desperate. That's the main reason," he said.

A week on, the situation remains tense, with soldiers in battledress patrolling the streets, sub-machine-guns by their side. Such riots have become a frequent occurrence in the past few weeks along the northern coast of Java, and throughout much of Indonesia.

More than 10 people died in one week alone. Indonesia is experiencing its worst social unrest since 1965, the year that General Suharto, its effective dictator, came to power accompanied by one of the worst massacres of the 20th century.

It is this looming threat of an uncontrollable social convulsion which is driving Suharto to growing acts of desperation.

He is the only Asian leader who has seriously sought to resist the demands of the International Monetary Fund and its de facto master, the United States. Unhappy with the terms of the IMF deal and its failure to stabilise the rupiah, he has refused to sign a board which would be to supervise the pegging of the currency to the dollar.

Few think it would work. Over the past week, it has been opposed by the IMF, the World Bank, the US, the European Union and, significantly, Indonesia's hitherto friendly neighbour Singapore.

President Clinton's anxieties led him to telephone Suharto late last week, ahead of the Group of Seven meeting in London, for the second time within eight days, telling him to show more political commitment to economic reform and offering more financial help.

Suharto will probably back off,

although nobody is sure. But he is desperate to try to stabilise the rupiah, whose value has fallen from 2,400 to the dollar last July to around 10,000 today. The result has been twofold. Most Indonesian firms are now technically bankrupt, and a ferocious inflationary spiral has been unleashed.

"The economy is in absolutely appalling shape," said a leading analyst for a Western financial house in Jakarta. "No one has got any money. Most companies have cut back, and many have effectively stopped opening. It's now a cash-only economy," added the analyst who, for fear of finding his stay in Indonesia cut short, preferred to remain anonymous.

The impact on the people of this densely populated archipelago, which from one end to the other is the same distance from Los Angeles to New York, has been devastating.

The price of rice and cooking oil has gone up by between 30 and 100 per cent in under two months, while that of chicken, the main meat, has increased by between 50 and 100 per cent. "Thousands have already died from hunger and lack of medical supplies, and many more will die in the coming months," the analyst said.

The desperation in Pasuruan and thousands of other towns throughout Indonesia is the result of an economic hurricane that has left people confused, powerless and bitter.

What makes Indonesia different from every other country that has

been engulfed in the Asian meltdown, is that the economic crisis threatens the very survival of the regime.

William Keeling, an expert on Indonesia for the merchant bank Dresdner, explained: "The political and social implications of the economic downturn were always going to be enormous."

Suharto has been in power for 32 years. He is 75 years old, the system is highly autocratic, corruption is endemic, and the disparity between rich and poor has grown since during the boom years of the last decade.

Resentment over the division of the spoils was becoming an issue throughout the region, but nowhere more so than in Indonesia.

EVERYONE comments on it. For Andri Simono, an economist, "development has been about growth, rather than equity". Sulistyono is more outspoken. "Most of all, there is a growing sense of injustice. Too few people got too much, and too many people got too little."

He is sure that Suharto's days are strictly numbered. The problem is that the opportunities to get rid of him fairly painlessly have been squandered. On March 10 he will be re-elected president by the Consultative Assembly for another five-year term. According to the senior analyst: "It's now down to bellamy."

Manila, Southeast Asia is looking on with growing alarm at the implosion of its mighty neighbour. George Yoon, Singapore's

minister for industry, said: "They never expected this. Until recently all of us were convinced the Indonesian economy was sound. The worrying thing for us is not so much the economy, but the political and strategic implications."

Malaysia and Singapore fear a huge influx of refugees which can only exacerbate the sensitive nature of inter-ethnic relations in their own countries.

Already the fires are burning again in Kalimantan, threatening yet again to engulf the region in a similar acid haze to last year, but this time with the Indonesian army too preoccupied with social hot spots to deal with the physical ones.

Sulistyono painstakingly attempted to explain why the Indonesian revolution had not yet happened. "Although the rupiah hit its lowest point in early January, it was the month of Ramadan and self-restraint. As soon as it was over, there was no reason for self-restraint any more. Nobody had any money after Ramadan and prices were rocketing, so the riots started."

"With the government now threatening severe repression of the weeks leading up to the Consultative Assembly, things will begin to quieten down again. But after that, there will be a renewed sense of disappointment."

"Prices hikes will get even worse. By early April, the situation will be uncontrollable and the president will declare a state of emergency. 'The revolution will start, but there will be a lot of blood. It will be very messy. Angry mobs will turn on Suharto and the Chinese.'"

The Observer

Washington Post, page 13

A man who is all things to all men

Lower Saxony's premier wants Chancellor Kohl's job, writes Ian Traynor

THE boogie-woogie piano rolled comfortably from the stage, he free beer flowed, and the man who wants to lead Germany into the next millennium strutted confidently to the podium.

"The Kohl era is over," proclaimed Gerhard Schröder, launching himself into a deftly pitched 10-minute performance which he hopes will propel him to the chancellery in Bonn in September.

"Ah," grunted Heinrich Speth, a retired steelworker, "Gerhard Schröder's our man. He's a man of the people. He's the only one who can beat Kohl."

In front of 700 trades unionists at Social Democrats in a municipal hall in the northern town of Osterode, Mr Schröder pledged his white message that, after 16 years government by Helmut Kohl, many badly need a change.

Mr Kohl's "counterpart" for the ruling man and his cabinet of

"dictates" had resulted in 5 million out of work, but national pride could and should rejuvenate the highly successful post-war German model. "We need to adapt, but there's little reason to throw away the things that made this country strong."

Mr Schröder is a self-made man. He was born into poverty and ruin in 1944, the year his father died in the war. He and his five siblings were reared by his mother, a cleaner.

Since 1990 he has been the Social Democratic premier of Lower Saxony. His Osnabrück performance was aimed at winning a third term in the state election on Sunday.

It is a poll of much more than regional significance. Mr Schröder is locked in an increasingly bad-tempered rivalry with his party leader, Oskar Lafontaine, for the nomination to challenge Mr Kohl on September 27.

The Lower Saxony poll is seen as a dummy run for September and could go a long way towards deciding the "winner" of a very Christian

Wulf, the Christian Democrat challenger in the state.

"Politics here has been nothing but Schröder for the past eight years," complained Rebekka Harms, the Greens' senior candidate. "Everything is subordinate to the Schröder fixation."

Mr Schröder is a master of realpolitik — all things to all men and women. He calls himself a pragmatist, his critics call him a shameless opportunist. His party is divided on his merits. But he is popular with the public and in his home turf in claiming the chancellery candidacy.

Despite 15 years in opposition, the Social Democrats have performed wretchedly in a string of regional elections over the past two years, forfeiting up to 6 per cent of their vote.

Mr Schröder's pitch is that he is the only figure who can reverse that trend. He has hitched his fate to that promise. Should he fail to get into the two points of the 44.3 per cent he won in 1994 in Lower Saxony, he will give up his bid for the candidacy. Polls suggest he will get about 45 per cent.



Gerhard Schröder: pragmatic or shameless opportunist?

His other main claim — and the weapon he will deploy against Mr Lafontaine and Mr Kohl — is that he is the only politician capable of harnessing cross-votes from the Christian Democrats.

"Who can maximise our chances on September 27 and make victory probable?" he asked rhetorically.

"The New Centre should be our slogan, forming an alliance of those ready and able to achieve things."

Mr Lafontaine, a man of the left, is seen as unable to attract the swing vote. Mr Kohl, too, has traditionally favoured a divisive "never-say-die" campaign and has opposed a "grand coalition" of Christian and Social Democrats in government.

Such an outcome in September, said Mr Schröder, could not be a strategic aim, but now would it be a "national catastrophe".

The polls consistently show him as the figure with the best chance of unseating Mr Kohl. So the chancellor is campaigning hard in Lower Saxony, hoping to trim a Schröder victory and indirectly promote Mr Lafontaine, whom he could comfortably ally with.

"Many in the party see Schröder as too right-wing, too business-friendly," said Karl Lütke, aged 71 and a party member for 35 years. "But I can't see a better candidate for the party and for Germany."

Mr Schröder is on holiday

Bay of Pigs was fiasco, CIA admits

Tim Weiner

ONE of the most secret documents of the cold war is out: the Central Intelligence Agency's brutally honest inquest into the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961, which laid the blame for the disastrous invasion of Cuba on the agency's own institutional arrogance, ignorance and incompetence.

The 120-page document also warned those who might want to use the CIA to overthrow enemies, saying that job belonged to the Pentagon and its broad arsenal of military forces.

The report painted a picture of an agency at fault through with self-deception, whose secret operations were "ad hoc and/or fragile" and "not a serious or reliable force".

The CIA officers involved in the Cuban operation could be seen as the "puppets" they had banded together to replace Fidel Castro.

The Bay of Pigs invasion, carried out in April 1961, was a disaster. The CIA had been told that the Cuban "puppets" they had banded together to replace Fidel Castro.

While the basic story of the invasion is well known, the report, entitled The Inspector-General's Survey Of



Fidel Castro commands the rout of the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs

PHOTO: PAUL CORPUS

The Cuban Operation, is a well of hard facts. A leading historian of the operation, Peter Wyden, wrote wistfully in his book *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story*, published in 1979, that the report was "probably buried for ever".

But last week, after 36 years of secrecy during which all but one copy of the report was destroyed, a Freedom of Information Act request unearthed the sole surviving volume. It had been locked in the safe of the CIA director.

The report, written after an investigation by the CIA's inspector-general, Leon B. Kerpelovich, is a record of bungling that

CIA leaders believed it was President John F. Kennedy's failure to approve a simultaneous attack on Cuba's air force that caused the deaths of nearly 1,500 raiders.

The Kerpelovich report said planning for the operation began in April 1960. It was to be a "classic covert action" in which the band of the United States would not appear. The plan called for a group of Cuban leaders, supported by CIA cadres, to build political momentum toward toppling Castro, who had taken power in 1959.

But, the report said, CIA officers became so wrapped up in

the operation that "they lost sight of ultimate goals". Their budget grew from \$4.4 million to \$44.5 million. Inside a year, they had created an army of 1,500 raiders.

A brigade commander sent his final message: "We are out of ammo and fighting on the beach. Please send help." A second message did not reach the 1,511 commandos headed for the Bay of Pigs. Three days of fighting ensued. The invading force, a trained invasion force whose cover had been blown before the operation took place.

The CIA viewed the report as poisonous. "In unfriendly hands, it can become a weapon unjustifiably to attack the entire mission, organisation, and functions of the agency," the CIA's deputy director at the time said.

The Revolutionary Council, the CIA-created alternative to Castro, became the agency's "puppets," said the report.

"Isolated in a Miami safe house, 'voluntarily' but under strong persuasion, the Revolutionary Council members awaited the outcome of a military operation which they had not planned and knew little about, while agency-written bulletins were issued to the world in their name."

If the CIA could not work with Cubans, Kerpelovich warned prophetically, "how can the agency possibly succeed with the natives of Black Africa or southeast Asia?"

The report said the CIA decided itself and the White House that the invasion would be carried out in Cuba and Castro "organised resistance that did not exist."

On April 15, 1961, CIA pilots knocked out part of Castro's air force, and were set to finish the job. At the last minute, on April 16, President Kennedy called off the air strikes, but the message did not reach the 1,511 commandos headed for the Bay of Pigs. Three days of fighting ensued. The invading force, a trained invasion force whose cover had been blown before the operation took place.

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— New York Times



Lesbian couple lose test case on job perks

Clare Dyer

A LESBIAN couple lost a test case over access to perks at work last week, dealing a severe blow to the campaign for equal rights for gays in the workplace.

The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg ruled that South West Trains did not breach European equality laws in refusing a railway worker, Lisa Grant, travel concessions for her partner, Jill Percey.

Campaigners had high hopes of a win because the court's Advocate General had strongly backed their case in an interim opinion last September. In more than 85 per cent of cases the judges follow the Advocate General's opinion.

In addition, a European Court ruling in 1996 that sex discrimination laws cover transsexuals had been seen as a strong pointer towards the adoption of equal rights for gays.

The judgment throws into doubt the chances of success for Terry Perkins, a sailor sacked by the Royal Navy in 1995 for being gay, because the judges explicitly stated that European Community law did not cover sexual orientation. He is awaiting a date for a hearing.

A victory for Ms Grant, aged 30, and Ms Percey, 38, would have had major implications for Britain's employment, pensions and social security systems. The Prime Minister's wife, Cherie Booth QC, argued Ms Grant's case, but both the British and French governments fielded lawyers to oppose the claim.

Ms Grant said: "It is now up to national governments to change legislation. We set out to try to raise awareness that there is discrimination in the workplace and we have done what we set out to do."

Ms Grant, a booking clerk, filed an equal pay claim with Southampton industrial tribunal after South West Trains rejected her application for free or cheap travel for Ms Percey, a course. She claimed that company rules limiting the perk to spouses or opposite-sex partners in a "meaningful relationship" for at least two years breached European equal pay laws, which cover perks as well as salary. The tribunal referred the case to Luxembourg.

The European Court held that there was no direct discrimination on grounds of sex because a male gay couple would also have been denied the concession. South West Trains successfully claimed its policy was not discrimination on grounds of sex, but on grounds of sexual orientation, which was not covered by European Community law.

The judges held that the transsexual case covered only a change from one sex to the other and not sexual orientation. "Community law as it stands at present does not cover discrimination based on sexual orientation," they ruled.

The judges said the EC had not yet adopted rules treating gay relationships as equal to marriage or stable opposite-sex partnerships. Nor did most member states treat them as equivalent.

Ear marks out serial burglar

John Beard

ALVIN Sewell is no great shakes at the technology of modern housebreaking. But he possesses one gift which shines through the ages would have envied. He has the ears of a cat.

Just by pressing an ear to a door or window — and keeping there for some time — he can tell infallibly whether anyone is at home.

He has proved this with at least 13 immaculate burglaries, netting £4,000 worth of property. Mr Sewell, aged 25, of Balham, south London, also stole a Snuppy dog.

Last week, however, thief-tracing technology caught up with him. Evedge Judge David Eller paid tribute to his "long and sometimes very successful career. But — trapped by his carprints — Mr Sewell was sentenced to a year in prison after admitting five burglary charges.

He is the first criminal in Britain to have a mould taken of his ears by police. Following Simon Neilson, who had a crown carved into his breaks were carried out in either Clapham or Vauxhall, south London.

As usual, forensic staff dusted for fingerprints. But "a peculiar aspect of an otherwise ordinary series of burglaries" quickly became apparent — the position of what turned out to be other prints.

Mr Sewell would have been a suspect anyway because of previous convictions dating back to 1989, Mr McDaniel said. But the earprints — which are unique in each individual — led police to make an acetate-based mould of him.

The perfect match led quickly to charges. Judge Eller told him he must be all too well aware of the misery his crimes caused.

Outside court, Detective Constable Alan Hodgson said he would encourage fellow officers to watch for similar glee over prints.

Mr Sewell is already serving a sentence of three years and nine months imposed earlier for burglary. He is now facing five new sentences, given him ample time to consider the use of an ear trumpet.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 1 1998

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Cannabis 'is safer than alcohol or cigarettes'

Tim Radford

UNITED NATIONS health chiefs suppress a finding that cannabis is safer than either alcohol or tobacco, according to a report last week.

A World Health Organisation report published in December was to have concluded that even if cannabis were consumed on the same scale as cigarettes and whisky, it would probably still be safer than either, but the passage was scrapped.

at the last moment, says the magazine New Scientist.

The comparison with alcohol and tobacco, the suppressed passage said, was made "not to promote one drug over another but rather to minimise double standards that have operated in appraising the health effects of cannabis".

The disputed passage was leaked to New Scientist after it was withdrawn, reportedly in response to pressure from the United States National Institute on Drug Abuse and

the UN International Drug Control Programme. It says: "In developed societies cannabis appears to play a role in injuries caused by violence, as does alcohol." It also says there is evidence that alcohol can harm fetal development, while the evidence that cannabis can harm fetal development is "far from conclusive".

The WHO report does admit that, like heavy drinking, smoking marijuana can produce psychosis in susceptible people. It also says chronic cannabis smoking may contribute to

cancers of the aerodigestive tract.

But one lung disease researcher, Donald Tashiro of the University of California at Los Angeles, found that volunteers who smoked three joints a day had much the same lung capacity and function as those who smoked none. However, deep smokers inhale deeply and hold the smoke in the lungs, so they get a large dose of potentially damaging tar. One in five reported suffering from phlegm and bouts of bronchitis.

The leaked UN report comes at a time of renewed pressure to house again about drug policies. A House of Lords committee is to begin its own inquiry into decriminalisation and former chiefs of both Scotland Yard and Metropolitan drug squads have called for legalisation.

Marijuana is widely used as a therapy for AIDS sufferers in the states of California and Arizona, which have ruled that doctors may prescribe the drug, in defiance of federal law. The drug has been known to relieve the symptoms of glaucoma, and to suppress the pain felt by multiple sclerosis sufferers. It was widely used in childbirth in the last century, and it has also been recommended as a palliative for those undergoing chemotherapy.

Fans learn jeers sans frontières

John Duncan and
Jon Henley in Paris

IF ENGLAND return from the 1998 World Cup in France this summer "malades come des perroquets" then at least one group of Midlands football fans will be able to say "non on regrette rien". Wolverhampton Wanderers last week announced that they will be host to cheap French lemons to help fans intending to go to France to distinguish their Arsenal from them.

The seven-week course — 1st Mon Fils, Sur Ma Tête — starts on March 5, costs £50 and is offered in association with the Midlands community colleges in the West Midlands. Tutors will teach French modules in a bar at Wolves's Molineux ground and then a match will be shown on the telly.

The course will teach Emile Zola in favour of Gianfranco, and former West Ham striker Paul Goddard is more likely to come up in conversation than French film-maker Jean-Luc, but the organisers deny the course is frivolous.

"We are combining fun with a serious approach to language learning so that fans learn footballing French," a college spokesman, Terry Guy, said. "We are being realistic and teaching fans what they may need to know."

Students will learn translations of such choice phrases as "I say, referee, I regret to inform you that your voice is impaired" and "What does my tattoo say?"

Dave Price, aged 38, a Birmingham City fan, has signed up. The best part will be singing a few songs with French lyrics — so we are learning the French for "Keep right on till the end of the road" (the Birmingham City song) and even the rugby classic "Swing low, sweet chinook".

The French are not great threateners. Their supporters' association had to launch a nationwide competition to find a chant for France 98 two weeks ago. The centre of crowd chanting is generally accepted as Marseille, where England play Tunisia on June 15.

Given the perennial problems with referees during the World Cup, the students may care to note that the French traditionally yell "Aux chiottes, l'arbitre" (Down the bog, referee) when a decision goes against them.



A demonstrator puts his best foot forward on the chicken farm site at Croxton

PHOTO ORANIAN TURNER

Chickens duck flying picket ban

Seamus Milne

LAST year British Airways cabin staff discovered the power of the "mass action" when threatened with the sack if they took industrial action. Last week Magnet Kitchen workers, fired 18 months ago for going on strike, unveiled a new industrial weapon in their battle for reinstatement: the chicken farm.

It was set up by the sacked workers from Darlington and a group of redundant Derbyshire miners on land near the Cambridgegate road in Alton. The picketing was organised by Alan Bowkett, chief executive of Magnet's parent company Berford, to evade threats of legal action for secondary picketing. Lawyers

had advised them it was the only way to avoid the sack.

Under placards warning "the chickens are coming home to roost", and video surveillance by Mr Bowkett's security guards, the farm was officially opened with three hens on a site rented by the GMB union in the village of Croxton near St Neots.

Mr Bowkett — who last year got a £124,000 pay rise — was described as a "fat cat of the highest order" by the GMB national secretary, Phil Davies. The chicken farm has been named "Camp Bowkett".

The opening was marked when one of the chickens escaped and was run over on the A428. The two survivors were entrusted to a neighbour.

boring farmer until more secure coops are delivered and the sacked workers have arranged an official flying permit.

A spokesman for Berford said the chicken farm was a "childish stunt" and "low-grade publicity seeking" which demonstrated that the GMB had "no serious interest in tackling the issues or engaging in a sensible debate". Mr Bowkett was considering the legal options.

Terry Buckenella, a former president of the Derbyshire NUM who joined the farm launch, said the Magnet workers had supported Derbyshire miners during the 1984/85 pit strike and the former pitman were now "repaying a debt of honour".

Connery denied knighthood

Lawrence Danegren

THIS actor and Scottish Nationalist supporter, Sean Connery, was at the centre of a political row last weekend after it emerged he had been denied a knighthood because of remarks he made about domestic violence towards women.

With the Scottish National Party insisting a concerted effort was under way to smear the Edinburgh-born actor, government sources confirmed that Mr Connery had been recommended for the honour by the previous Tory administration but refused claims that his name was withdrawn by Scottish Office ministers shortly after taking office

last May because of his political affiliations.

"Politics had nothing to do with it," one source said. "There is the question of his attitude towards domestic violence... Mr Connery's past remarks on this issue are dubious, so to say the very least. In addition, what sort of message would it have sent out if a Labour government, newly in office, was to hand out a knighthood to a well-known tax evader?"

It is understood ministers were disturbed by remarks made by the 67-year-old actor in an interview with Vanity Fair magazine in 1993, during which he appeared to suggest that an "open-handed slap" was

justified in dealing with certain domestic situations.

"Sometimes there are women who take it to the wife. That's what they're looking for, the ultimate confrontation. They want a smack... an open-handed slap is justified if all alternatives fail and there has been plenty of warning. If a woman is a bitch, or hysterical, or bloody-minded continually, then I'd do it," Mr Connery said.

The former James Bond star was recommended for a knighthood for services to the arts. But after last May's election, objections were made by the new Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar and the Scottish arts minister, Sam Galbraith.

The SNP leader, Alex Salmond, said that the remarks had been taken out of context. "What is happening is

Connery was the victim of political discrimination?"

a spin-doctor's ploy, to smear Sean Connery and to conceal the simple truth... that Scotland's most famous son has been discriminated against because of his politics."

NHS waiting list nears record 1.3m

David Inghis

MINISTERS last week stopped blaming the Conservative legacy for the continuing rise in hospital waiting lists as the Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, admitted that the latest figures were bad.

A snapshot survey last month had shown that 80 per cent of those waiting 18 months already had treatment dates before the end of March. "That is the kind of progress we are committed to achieving," he said.

The figures will be used by health ministers to press the Treasury for more money for the NHS next winter. Reports have suggested they are asking for an extra £300 million, which would mean a £2.2 billion a year more since the election.

Dr Sandy Macrae, chairman of the British Medical Association, said: "The fact that the figures are rising despite the best efforts of NHS staff, despite the extra winter money and despite the mild weather, simply highlights the urgent need to improve the financial base of the service."

John Maples, the shadow health secretary, said the next figures would "worsen considerably". He added: "By May, Labour will have been running the NHS for nearly a year and will have no excuses for the appalling distress and suffering that these waits are causing for patients."

Mr Dobson insisted that the Government would meet its promise to reduce the list to below the figure it had inherited. That would have been achieved "at the next election". The NHS would also meet the commitment he gave last November that, by the end of March, no patient would have been waiting longer than 18 months.

The figures, dated at December 31, are doubly embarrassing for the Government. One of Labour's five "early pledges" made before the general election, was to "cut NHS waiting lists by treating an extra 100,000 patients".

In fact, the total list has risen by almost 108,000 since the election. Moreover the number of patients waiting more than a year is rising rapidly — up 10 per cent in a quarter to 683,000 at the end of December. Of those, 974 had been waiting more than 18 months, in breach of the Patient's Charter guarantee.

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The researchers, whose work builds on American studies, believe the cause of chromosomal linked to the condition is close to the genes controlling immunity. That suggests there may be something unusual with the parent or child's immune system and there could be a susceptibility to attacks from antibodies, which could be a cause of the condition, Prof Stein said.

It is thought that up to 10 per cent of the Western world's population may suffer from dyslexia. "If we could develop a very simple test to locate this genetic linkage in five- or six-year-olds, then there's a good chance of alleviating the problem," Prof Stein said.

"Even if we cannot alleviate it, if the children know they have this condition and are not stupid, it will make them less depressed,"

Dyslexia is hereditary

Sarah Hall

SCIENTISTS last week heralded a breakthrough after unearthing further proof that the reading and spelling disability, dyslexia, is a genetic condition.

A common strand of DNA has been located in parents and children suffering from the condition — proving it is hereditary. "We think this is a breakthrough," said John Stein, professor of physiology at Oxford University, who, with Tony Monaco of the Wellcome Trust, Centre for Human Genetics, is conducting the research. "It makes it quite clear that dyslexia is a hereditary condition and not purely psychological."

Prof Stein and his colleagues carried out DNA tests on more than 400 people in 90 families. At least one dyslexic parent and at least one dyslexic child were found in each family.

They found the approximate site of a gene associated with dyslexia, and then discovered that more than 40 per cent of the family affected by the condition.

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Jury may be out in fraud trials

Maxwell judgment effectively made it impossible to try in full allegations of serious fraud.

Last week's green paper envisages perhaps 80-85 cases a year — including all those prosecuted by the SFO — qualifying for trial without a jury should Parliament decide to abandon the jury system in complex cases. But a smaller number would actually be tried without a jury.

The proposals follow alarm at costs in serious fraud cases and suggestions that ordinary jurors are not capable of following allegations of complex financial crime. Alarm peaked in September 1996, when Mr Justice Buckley ruled there would be no second trial of Kevin Maxwell in relation to the collapse of his father's commercial empire.

The then Serious Fraud Office director, George Shipley, said that, taken with an earlier ruling ordering prosecutors to chop big trials into several smaller ones to prevent jurors becoming overburdened, the

jury system could be abandoned under a review of serious fraud trials being carried out by the Home Office, writes Dan Atkinson.

The Home Office said last week that millions of pounds could be cut out of the Government's legal costs by dumping juries, but its green paper also warned that denying fraud suspects the right to a jury hearing would "represent a significant departure from current practice".

Costs could be slashed by perhaps a quarter, the Home Office estimates, in line with the expected time savings of days for every 100 days of trial time under the jury system — a saving of nearly £500,000 on the 131-day Maxwell case. The green paper forms part of a general review of white-collar crime.

Under the proposals, the judge would decide at a pre-trial hearing if the case would be heard by a jury or by a non-jury system.

The Crown and defence teams could appeal against the judge's decision before the case got under way.

The judges said the 1988 law did not directly restrict the use of the press, but it limited to £25 the amount of money "unauthorised persons" could spend on publicising the trial. The result of Halifax about the three candidates, voting record and attitudes on abortion, during the trial.

The limit did not prevent Mr Bowman from campaigning freely at other times. However, this would not, in the court's view, have served his purpose in publishing the results, which was, at the very least, to inform the public of Halifax about the three candidates, voting record and attitudes on abortion, during the trial.

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Consigned to history... Production line workers sign the last Rover 100 — the small car originally known as the Austin Mini Metro — before it was sent to the Hartings Trust museum. The Metro, launched in 1980, rescued British Leyland, which was struggling to survive in the face of competition from overseas

Clare Dyer

THE Government will be forced to change Britain's electoral laws after a European Court of Human Rights ruling last week that they violated an anti-subversion campaigner's right to free speech.

The Strasbourg judges said laws banning ordinary citizens' spending money to promote or denigrate candidates in election campaigns breached article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which guarantees freedom of expression.

The decision was a victory for the leading anti-subversion campaigner Phyllis Bowman, executive director of the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children. She said: "For years candidates have deliberately deceived electors [when speaking about] how they felt about abortion. Our leaflet said how they would vote once they had voted."

Mrs Bowman, aged 72, was charged under the 1983 Representation of the People Act with a "corrupt electoral practice" by spending £10,000 on producing election material without authorisation in Halifax, West Yorkshire, in 1992. Mrs Bowman, who had twice before been convicted for similar offences, was acquitted on the third occasion because the case was brought outside the 12-month time limit.

She took her case to Strasbourg, claiming damages for the "stress, anxiety and sleeplessness" she suffered, plus legal costs, as a result of being prosecuted. Her claim for damages was rejected, but she was awarded £1,633.64 for legal costs in Britain and £25,000 for Strasbourg costs.

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John Stein

Clearly the deal will embody some of the "flexibility" for which Mr Annan first called last month. It can be made his first diplomatic intervention. There is nothing wrong with being flexible if it secures compliance. The burden of proof will be on Saddam Hussein to deliver. That means the inspectors must be able to enter the

That the entire universe erupted from a minute speck, to which it could return but probably won't, and surely remain the mystery among mysteries. However much scientists agree that they have found the complete explanation.

Hugo Young

stance in the world has never been rooted, for 25 years, in belonging to Europe. But it's the challenge that Kohl, vibrantly present and far from dead, laid down

Annan's Deal Puts Clinton on the Spot

Fujimori's One-Man Fight Against Corruption

British flags in the West Bank at the weekend PHOTO: ABBAS MOURAI

Against El Nino

Such a system can't be reformed overnight, and few people are suggesting that Albright march into Suharto's office to demand his resignation. But the US could insist on

homeless — and giving Fujimori a new lease on political life. The ultimate crisis president, who gained world fame last year by directing the assault that took back the Ica-

everything, right down to calculating the number of potatoes needed in communal kitchens.

Fujimori's zeal has brought scathing criticism from those who say he may be acting chiefly in pursuit of his own interests.

— It's me. I am the one fighting the

economic restructuring from Asia's teetering autocratic regimes, but "substantial political reform as well." This was the statement of Martin Lee cited by Senator Helms. It's a view that American officials bought.

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Canada Gets Its Week in Court

Howard Schneider in Ottawa

FOR 400 years, the people of this northern land have argued over the place French culture has in Canada. Over the past 30, they have fought over whether the mostly French-speaking province of Quebec should settle the matter for good by becoming an independent state.

Last week, Canada's Supreme Court opened a hearing that began by delving into the philosophical and legal roots of nationhood and could end with the court specifying some ground rules for the country's disintegration.

Though the question of whether the court's eventual decision will have any effect on the aspirations of Quebec or any other province remains wide open, the hearing has sparked strong feelings throughout Canada. The court proceedings — as part of the dance that goes on between Quebec separatists and the rest of the country — are characterized as either a high-minded exercise in constitutional democracy or a base play by Ottawa to convince Quebecers that they would be breaking the law if they tried to secede.

It is also proof that this country has made little if any progress toward reconciliation since an October 1995 referendum in which Quebec separatists came within a

few thousand votes of a victory that would have set the stage for their own declaration of independence. If anything, relations are at a low. Even some pro-Canada forces in Quebec are angry about the federal government's use of the Supreme Court for what they feel are blatantly political ends, meanwhile, the province's separatist premier, Lucien Bouchard, is riding high in public opinion for his management of the devastation wrought by a recent ice storm, and sovereigntists have been hailing Ottawa for everything from refusing to pay for storm cleanup to not providing enough French-language presentations during Canada's activities on the opening day of the Winter Olympics in Japan.

There is even speculation that Bouchard, a master of political gambits, might stage a provincial election and follow-up referendum on the sovereignty issue this spring, though continuing budget problems and upcoming labor negotiations make that less likely.

"There is a lot of tension in the air," said Yves Fortier, the lead lawyer for the federal government in the Supreme Court hearings. To begin with, the issue is, in some fundamental sense, beyond the court's reach: Imagine the US Supreme Court in the 1980s telling the

secessionist Confederacy that it was unconstitutional to fire on Fort Sumter. The current hearings are part of

the Canadian court's practice of occasionally accepting what are, in essence, hypothetical "references" that ask for non-binding guidance on the country's constitution.

In this case, the federal government 18 months ago asked the nine-member panel to answer questions about any move by Quebec to separate — whether, either under Canada's constitution or international law, Quebec could leave Canada without the agreement of either the federal government or the provinces or a constitutional amendment.

The federal government argues that the answer is no and that any separation would require a constitutional amendment approved by the rest of Canada.

Quebec, in another demonstration of the divide on this issue, has refused even to participate in the hearings on the grounds that the province's sovereignty is a political issue for Quebecers to decide on their own. The terms of separation could perhaps be negotiated with the rest of Canada — that's what sovereignist leaders have said in their intent — but it certainly would not be governed by the strictures of a constitution that the province has never even ratified.

Bouchard emphasized that in a speech before a cheering University of Montreal crowd last month, "Ottawa is asking judges to appointe unilaterally to rule on a constitution it

North Korea Sends Seoul Billets-Doux

Mary Jordan in Tokyo

NORTH KOREA made a remarkable gesture of peace to South Korea last week, sending letters across the fortified border that defied dialogue between political and civic groups in each country.

The offer appears to be a response to conciliatory gestures from Seoul, diplomats and analysts said.

In letters sent through Red Cross officials at the truce village of Panmunjom along the most militarized border in the world, North Korea said it sought to thaw frozen diplomatic ties between the two nations who have been bitter adversaries for half a century.

The 70 or so letters — addressed to president-elect Kim Dae-jung and to South Korean political and civic leaders — seek "dialogue between the political and civic groups in each country, although it was unclear exactly what sort of talks North Korea envisioned.

North Korean Workers' Party Secretary Kim Yong-sam, as quoted by the official Korean Central News Agency as saying, "We are willing to have a dialogue and negotiation with anyone, South Koreans, including political parties and organizations."

U.S. officials in Seoul said Kim Yong-sam is a top-ranking official in charge of North-South relations. His statements are seen as the official position of the North Korean government and its ruler, Kim Jong-il. Following such conciliatory remarks, North Koreans are rare, and officials up with hand-delivered letters is nearly unheard of.

North Korea's gestures came days before South Korea swore to Kim Dae-jung as president on February 25. Dae-jung has made a series of proposals that suggest a desire for more willing to engage the North Koreans than the hawkish former president Kim Young-sam.

Since his election in December, Kim Dae-jung has called for direct talks with North Korea, an exchange of envoys and the resumption of laws forbidding South Koreans from receiving North Korean television broadcasts.

Kim Dae-jung said he would even consider a face-to-face meeting with Kim Jong-il.

Dialogue between the two nations was unthinkable even a year ago, when a North Korean submarine full of apples ran aground in the sea off the coast of South Korea, raising tensions in the high seas.

Since then, South Korean attention has turned largely inward, as a catastrophic economic collapse has taken hold. That has put discussion of North-South relations on the back burner. Many observers thought North Korea would be a beneficiary of the South's economic problems. Instead, it has instead become a quiet and steady source of aid.

At other moments, tensions were apparent. Shawn Charles, a 140-pounder from Mount Pleasant, Michigan, lost a third-place match based on penalties that baffled him when they were called. "I don't believe it," an equally baffled Iranian wrestler said after the match. The award ceremony was altered to avoid inflaming anti-American sentiment among conservative Iranian

When You Can't Confide Even in Friends

David Maraniss on the loneliness of the president

BILL CLINTON, as he struggles to survive the most serious crisis of his career, has become a study in presidential loneliness.

His life is built on two things — words and friends — that suddenly seem less of less to him. In public, he has offered up few words to explain the mess he is in, and in private, almost none of his legion of friends is willing or able to hear him say much more. The president who once chafed at the confinements of his job by calling the White House "the crown jewel in the American penal system" is now confronted by the prisoner's paradox: a crisis in which he is rarely by himself and yet always alone.

Clinton's aversion to being alone has been a defining trait of his life. As a teenager in Arkansas, he invited friends to his house just to watch him finish a crossword puzzle. During these last few perilous weeks, he has engaged in his customary pursuit of crowds and reassurance. He brings friends in for

the role of brother-confessor in the past, but now, caught up in the Lewinsky investigation himself, he has had to keep a certain distance. It did not go unnoticed that Jordan, a regular at White House functions, was off the list at the February 5 state dinner for British Prime Minister John Major.

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U.S. Clerics Given Warm Welcome

Steven Mufson in Beijing

ON THE eve of meeting Chinese President Jiang Zemin, the Rev. Don Argue asked his wife in the United States to pray for a successful meeting. She faxed him a quote from the Bible to bolster his spirits.

Still, as prayers were needed, Argue, New York-based Rabbi Arthur Schneier and Roman Catholic Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of Newark are here on a three-week trip that is more a diplomatic mission than a religious one. Dispatched by President Clinton as a result of the Jiang-Clinton summit last year to investigate restrictions on religious freedoms in China, the three clerics said they were "in the house with the Chinese leader, who treated them as visiting dignitaries."

Jiang told the clerics their arrival had come at an auspicious time because it coincided with the Lantern Festival, celebrated on the first full moon after the Chinese new year. Schneier, who gave Jiang a Chinese-linguistic encyclopedia of Judaism published in Shanghai, replied that the festival of light was a symbol of hope.

It remains in dispute whether the situation of Chinese believers today is a matter for rejoicing.

Conspicuous with this tumultuous Cultural Revolution of 1986-7, when priests were put in labor camps or solitary confinement and Buddhist and Taoist temples were defaced by marauding Red Guards, religious conditions today seem green. Hundreds of Bibles are printed, hundreds of alien of religious worship have been restored, and religious observance has received the blessing of the Communist Party.

But there is a catch. Religious activity must take place under an umbrella of "patriotic" religious organizations registered with the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council and the Communist Party's United Front Work Department. No religious figure can claim authority higher than that of the Communist Party.

For those who transgress those guidelines, punishment awaits. One Vatican loyalist, Bishop Zeng Jinguo, 77, from Fuzhou in Jiangsu province, is in his third year in a reeducation camp, human rights groups report. He is one of at least 20 jailed Catholic leaders. Dozens of Protestants are also in detention. And somewhere in northern Beijing, an 8-year-old boy is detained because Tibetan Buddhists believe that he is the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, the late leader.

With rising concern in Congress about religious restrictions here, the clerics are seen as providing political cover for the Clinton administration. While it continues to forge warmer relations with Beijing, the visit also serves a political purpose for China. The meeting with Jiang was splashed on the front pages of newspapers and displayed on the evening state-run news program.

"The clerics refused to say whether it will meet any underground church members, but that would be difficult given the presence of Chinese security police."

"We're going to get heat when we get back to the States," Argue acknowledged. "People will say we sold out to the [Chinese] system. But we haven't to one degree."

Wrestlers Break the Ice in Iran

Kenneth J. Cooper in Tehran

AS AN athletic competition, wrestling in Iran did not go the same way for the United States as did playing ping-pong in China.

When an American team played table tennis in Beijing in 1971, clearing the way for the eventual normalization of diplomatic relations, the Chinese opponents backhanded the visitors all over the table. Some members of the American team got the impression that the Chinese, the world's best in the game, let them win a few matches just to be gracious hosts.

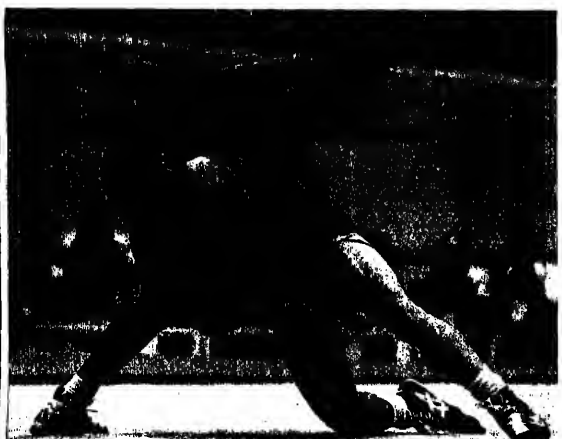
But in an international wrestling tournament that ended here last week, the first American athletes to compete in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1979 wiped the mat with their hosts.

The five Americans won nine of 12 head-to-head tussles with Iranian on the 50-member team that their country sent into the freestyle competition. Until the last night, an American wrestler had lost only once to an Iranian in two days.

The hosts could have felt they got even in the final round by winning two close matches, including the tournament's featured and final clash between heavyweight rivals who met in a disputed contest in Toronto five years ago.

"It's better if the other side wins," said John Markin, director of Search for Common Ground, a Washington-based group that has promoted American participation in the tournament as an opening to improved U.S.-Iran relations.

The American wrestlers and 12,000 flag-waving, chanting Iranians played the role of the ambas-



Fighting to win friends: Shawn Charles, left, in action with Iran's Mahdi Kaveh. PHOTO: KIMMY JESSE

sadors that their countries have not exchanged since Islamic militants attacked the US embassy here in 1979, taking 52 hostages who they held for 444 days.

Zeki Jonei, a peppy 120-pounder from Chandler, Arizona, was cheered when he entered the packed arena in England when Charles, a 140-pounder from Mount Pleasant, Michigan, lost a third-place match based on penalties that baffled him when they were called. "I don't believe it," an equally baffled Iranian wrestler said after the match. The award ceremony was altered to avoid inflaming anti-American sentiment among conservative Iranian

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When You Can't Confide Even in Friends

David Maraniss on the loneliness of the president

BILL CLINTON, as he struggles to survive the most serious crisis of his career, has become a study in presidential loneliness.

His life is built on two things — words and friends — that suddenly seem less of less to him. In public, he has offered up few words to explain the mess he is in, and in private, almost none of his legion of friends is willing or able to hear him say much more. The president who once chafed at the confinements of his job by calling the White House "the crown jewel in the American penal system" is now confronted by the prisoner's paradox: a crisis in which he is rarely by himself and yet always alone.

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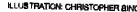
DAVID MARANISS

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Ivan Muscant knows that war is hell, but he also knows that it makes a hell of a story. And in *Empire By Default* he does a wonderful job



Charlea Vernon Gridley's left hand (the right being reserved to acknowledge the famous fire-when-ready order from Dewey); the treatment of the hunt for Spanish-vice-admiral Pascual Cervera enlivens an episode often passed over. Musicant's microhistory is more compelling than his macrohistory. He attempts to set the domestic context for American belligerence but trips over the odd fact and the curious characterization. (If Mark Hare-

Philippines employed tactics cunningly similar to those that earned Weyler the nickname "Butcher" in Cuba; the provisioning scandal of the "embalmed beef" for the troops in Cuba faded by the face of shock at revelations of the "water cure" and similar atrocities across the Pacific. The Philippine war revealed that Americans would fight for their empire; at the same time, by reminding them what hell war was, it guaranteed that they wouldn't glibly grab any more colonies. One such war

France seeks to kill speed

The figures reflect the legal arsenal introduced over 25 years: compulsory front-seat belts in 1973, stricter speed limits in 1974 and again in 1993, a crackdown on drinking in 1984, a roadworthiness test for old vehicles in 1985, back-seat seat-belts in 1990, and a points system for driving offences in 1992.

The many arguments put forward by the road lobby — all of them to some degree loaded — on such issues as speed and the points system carry little weight compared with this flat, which represents a straightforward

Although the number of French companies operating in Nigeria has decreased since the beginning of the eighties, when oil revenues generated a steady flow of

falls far short of the expectations of the business community and Nigeria's principal creditors. As one economist puts it: "It's a budget with electoral overtones, in which the re-

vestors — depends more than ever on its ability to reconcile once and for all the various forces that make up the turbulent Nigerian nation.
(Ephraim, 15, 16)

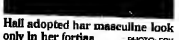
The fact that members of KAN (Koordinations Abergreifende Sozialist), a group representing the most radical organisations within ETA, are this time in a minority (11 out of 24) could be regarded as a significant development. It must also be acknowledged that some of the most virulent hardliners have been ousted from the leadership. But internal criticism is still not allowed and candidates who openly question the use of violence have also been excluded.

n

Jeannine Delamond | Holly Hest

Like a sculptor creating a masterpiece out of a block of marble, Cline ships away at Hall's turbulent friendships, family relationships and finances to expose the contours of the complicated personality at the center. That this study remains a portrait of Hall's stony exterior, however, offering little insight into his thoughts and emotions, is perhaps due to the fact that, with the exception of a voluminous correspondence at the end of her life, Hall left very little in the way of autobiographical writings, forcing Cline to rely primarily on the diaries and memoirs of Hall's three most important lovers and, more problematically, Hall's fiction.

Cline would have been well advised to abandon her plodding chronological approach and open her history with one of the more sensational moments in Hall's tempestuous life — the obscenity trials over *The Well of Loneliness*, for example, or one of her tragic love triangles — working in the dull details of Hall's ancestry and childhood where necessary. As it is, Cline's dutiful excavation of this information leads her to rely overmuch on Hall's fiction for psychological insight, which in turn leads to



simplification: (For example, after describing an incident in which Hall's stepfather cruelly takes the child's pet bird away from her, Cline notes with the utmost seriousness that Hall's "fiction becomes a home for defenseless canaries, and powerless children attached to canaries.")

The adult Hall — or John, as she was known socially — is more inter-

Halfa identity was a poet and a lesbian became during her long relationship with Mabel "Ladye" Betten, a celebrated mezzo-soprano, composer, grandmother and the former lover of the famous English writer, E. M. Forster, who died in 1971. The relationship ended with Ladye's death, which occurred while Hall was romping around the English countryside with her new lover (and Ladye's young, married cousin). In the text of 29 years, Troubridge became the music literary wife, subordiating her own career and ambitions to that of her beloved, searching out conducive writing environments, shielding Hall from family and friends during his most intense creativity, neglecting her own needs, and finding titles for many of Hall's tales. Troubridge became with Hall

Hall's passionate correspondence with Souline offers the most sustained glimpse of the inner workings of the lesbian icon's mind. It is, however, an attraction to her that is not limited to the young Russian refugee. Hall ceaselessly tries to bully and baby-talk her lover into passivity and dependence. (In one letter, a stern Hall punishes Souline for her decision to emigrate to England and her "disloyalty" to Oxford by sitting "in 'ES her, monthly 'allowance.") The images that emerges from these letters, as from the biography itself, is of an insecure, domineering woman determined to master the complex relationships that she has at least a modicum of control over, and, at times, to dominate, define, and

The figures reflect the legal arsenal introduced over 25 years: compulsory front-seat seat-belts in 1973, stricter seat belts in 1974 and again in 1975, a crackdown on drink-driving in 1984, a roadworthiness test for old vehicles in 1985, and a new seat-belt system in 1980, and points system for driving offences in 1992.

The many arguments put forward by the road lobby — all of them to some degree founded on such issues as noise and the points system carry little weight compared with this flat

Engines of change . . . The Gaysnot

ference between lives saved and lives lost.

Roads kill. The number of deaths may be going down, but there are still too many. That is why the Gaysnot bill, announced on February 18, marks a further vital stage in this long struggle against what is a national scandal. Its aim is clearly defined: to reduce the annual number of road deaths from 8,000 to 4,000 within the next five years.

One measure will make excessive speeding a crime rather than an offence. Any driver caught driving at more than

bill marks a further advance in the sentence and a maximum fine of 50,000 francs (\$8,000). There lies a proviso: only if a driver is caught speeding twice within a year will it count as a crime, rather than an offence. People caught driving 50 km/h above the limit for the first time will, as now, be fined and have points deducted from their licence.

If I have not lost the strategic aspect of the Geyssat bill—its intention to make excessive speeding a crime—I think because in 1994 another transport minister, Bernard Bosson, sought to introduce similar legislation; the

tion between a first and a second offence.

The massed ranks of those who believed they had a right to drive in a manner that was lethal both to themselves and others started squealing that the bill amounted to an infringement of their liberties. Worse, the proposed legislation managed to arouse the unanimous hostility of MPs, whether of the right or left, who felt it went too far.

A slightly watered-down bill is about to come before parliament. It would be no thing short of scandalous if it were not

to start up a dialogue with HB, and under what conditions. The likelihood of any agreement on the subject of language tests and the anti-terrorist campaign is, however, have receded. Gone is the groundswell of anti-ETA sentiment that followed the murder of councillor Miguel Angel Blanco last July.

The Aulup group, four of whose councillors have been murdered, has been accused of trying to instil intolerance, "to make political capital out of the dead" and thus make a local breakthrough at the future Basque elections.

As for the PNV, which has proposed a bilateral dialogue between democratic and terrorist forces, achieving "a peaceful solution to the problem of terrorism", it is suspected of having "yielded to the blackmail of radical separatists" so



The French culture minister Catherine Trautmann talks to **Jean-Michel Frodon, Yves-Marie Labé** and **Nicole Vulser** about the possible effects on the arts of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment

Europe 'will defend cultural exceptions'

IN WHAT way do you think the MAI now being negotiated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is dangerous for the arts?

The principle of the MAI is offensive because it regards works of art purely as investments, not as creations. I also find it offensive that companies should be allowed to impose their will without the consent of governments. Countries should be allowed to implement their own policies on the arts and education.

The MAI would end each country's policy of arts subsidies and sabotage any European cultural policy. If the MAI were to cover the arts, everything would go — production subsidies, aid to distributors and exhibitors, the quota systems that protect people in the music and audio-visual industries and bilateral agreements between countries.

French film professionals have criticized the government for keeping the state of negotiation secret and underestimating the MAI's impact. What do you think?

I'm surprised at such criticism. I've raised the issue more than once since becoming culture minister, both in public and at political and industry meetings. I've been in the United States, and I've been abroad. As with all international negotiations, there was little point in revealing their tenor while they

were still under way. But there was no secrecy and no underestimation of what was involved.

Isn't the French position liable to be seen as extreme — some of our partners are apparently prepared to be more flexible?

It's not about adopting an extreme position, but about being politically consistent. Since we defended the principle of the "cultural exception" during the Gatt talks, we could hardly throw in the sponge at the next stage. As regards our European partners, this is a good opportunity for us to show that this is an issue that concerns every country, without of course wishing to impose our model on anyone. But it's in every country's interest to defend its culture. The French position has proved that one can fight and get results even when the odds seem against it.

Areas qualifying for exemption from the MAI's general principles need to be specified. How is this possible when new technologies are going to open up as yet unknown ways of producing and disseminating works of art?

That's why we've demanded a "general cultural exception" that will make it possible to include new types of creation and dissemination as they appear.

Will France make recognition of



that "general exception" a precondition for agreeing to sign the MAI? And if so, is it the only condition?

It's one of four absolute conditions: on top of the general cultural exception, we're pressing for the dropping of retaliatory procedures in trade relations between countries, such as the D'Amato and Burton-Helmis laws. We've also been pressing for a European preference to be maintained, and we do not want our social welfare system to be affected.

How does the MAI fit into the international negotiations on the arts involving France?

It plays a vital part, first because as I've said, we have stated our

basic long-term principles, particularly as regards new areas in multimedia. And we're ready for further international talks, both at European level over issues raised by the Green Book on Telecommunications and Multimedia, and at global level, with the Gatt re-negotiations within the framework of the World Trade Organization coming up in 2000.

But the MAI talks are also an opportunity for Europeans to move closer together. They mark a step towards making consultation between European Union culture ministers a permanent feature of the landscape. The Birmingham meeting on the cinema and the audio-visual arts on April 5-6 will mark an important stage in that process, which should result in the setting up of a Euro-

pean council of culture ministers.

Isn't it a pity that Europe seems to be on the defensive as regards the United States?

As it happens, exactly the opposite is true. The Europeans, and particularly the French, have an offensive position. We're making it our own effort, and the MAI that Europe has genuinely accepted is a force for good.

It's the Americans who are defensive, and they, who, as I've said, are the ones who have a large number of exceptions to the MAI's general principles. (February 16-16)

Flaubert's fight against the bourgeois within

Pierre Lepapa

Correspondence IV
Guillaume Flaubert
Edited by Jean Brunau
Bibliothèque de la Pléiade
(Gallimard), 1,500pp 470 francs

"THE artist should not more appear in his work than God in nature. Man is nothing, the work is all!" This profession of faith by Flaubert comes in a letter to George Sand dated from the very end of 1875, which closes the fourth and penultimate volume of this indispensable edition of his correspondence. It provides the key to Flaubert's letters: they are in every sense the reverse side of his *oeuvre*, in other words the man.

Flaubert was so painfully conscious of the way his letters affirmed the first person, which he strove to muzzle or eliminate, that on more than one occasion he took drastic steps to prevent this from happening.

In his *Souvenirs Littéraires*, Maxime du Camp tells how he and Flaubert mutually agreed to destroy the many letters they had exchanged when the publication of *Lettres de Mérimée à l'Esprit* was revealed to us the breach of trust to which we were laying ourselves open by allowing these private confidences, where we had freely used "proper names... and opened up our hearts unreservedly, to sur-

vive." They kept only a handful of them. "The rest were burnt, and we felt a twinge of regret at having destroyed those pages, which we had filled with all that was best in us."

Sometimes it was Flaubert's correspondents themselves who did the censoring — for the best reasons in the world, so as not to harm the reputation of the Great Writer by publishing "improprieties." My friend pushed lewdness too far," wrote Ernest Chevalier. "I shall be careful to let you have what is good, and nothing more."

The bourgeoisie of 1880 dreamt of an uncontested, squeaky-clean Flaubert. Given the choice, Flaubert would probably have preferred there to be no Flaubert at all, just his works. His correspondence, one of the finest in French literature, and one that André Gide said "Flaubert left at his bedside for five years, as a relic of his life."

If Flaubert had not written letters, he would doubtless have choked to death with sheer rage, pain and loneliness. This is particularly evident from the letters in this volume, which date from January 1869 to December 1875.

Those were especially dark years. They saw the death of his mother and comrade, Louis Boulenger, the flop of *L'Education Sentimentale*, the flaying by the critics of his third novel, *Le Tentation de Saint Antoine* ("my whole life's work"), and the death of his mother, the collapse

of his fortune, the invasion of France by the Prussians, and the Commune. They were years of anger, disgust and exasperation. Of loneliness too: Flaubert was only 51 in 1871, but his circle of friends was shrinking like that of an old man. His only friend was Sand, who was 17 years older than him. He called her "chère Mère" and addressed her using the respectful "vous" form. She wrote Ernest Chevalier, "I shall be careful to let you have what is good, and nothing more."

They were very few of each other but had completely different ideas. She was a democrat and a liberal who wrote books and articles to cheer up enough money to bring her brother to Nohant in relative affluence. She believed in progress and in the virtue of hope, in other words politics.

Flaubert was, in her words, an *indolent* (someone who is in a permanent state of rage). He was exasperated by the Second Empire, which he despised, and by the Commune, which he despised. He despised the whole of the Third Republic. "The whole dream of democracy is to raise the proletariat to the same degree of stupidity as the bourgeois."

And Flaubert knew something about the stupidity of the bourgeois: he knew he needed only to look at himself in a mirror to observe it. That stupidity was in his blood, his genes and his way of life.

It was walking to catch him out in his use of language, in his pit turns of phrase. "Try trying to establish whether I do not possess the 32 qualities of the imbecile," he wrote. In another letter: "One has to resign oneself to living half way between idleness and raving lunacy."

Flaubert mistrusted everything, and nothing more than his own feelings. He was a good person at heart (as can be seen from his affectionate letters to his niece, Caroline), a good son and a loyal friend. But he always felt the urge to wrench himself away from such a compliant attitude, so fearful was he of detecting in the symptoms of what he called "the joke" — by which he meant lies, sentimental nonsense, received ideas, and ideology.

THIS volume of correspondence is a remarkable record of literature. We would like to find an echo of his work in his letters, but all we get are hints. Flaubert never talks about what he is writing, or about the stages of his writing. He would go through three creative stages. The pre-writing stage involved encyclopaedic reading, piles of notes, and weeks spent scouring Paris for a piece of information that would end up as half a sentence in *L'Education Sentimentale*.

Then came the writing stage. His correspondents were told not about the actual text, but about the hours

of pleasure and torture he spent toiled with his text. It took him eternally to drag each sentence screaming into the world.

Lastly, there was the post-writing stage — meticulous correction. "It is in the sentence," he wrote, "that the author's personality is revealed, and it is here that the author's personality is revealed, and it is here that the author's personality is revealed."

That was also the moment when Flaubert saw confirmation in his darkest prophecies. "The French intellectual decay is at its height," he wrote. "The French intellectual decay is at its height, and it is here that the author's personality is revealed."

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He would go through three creative stages.

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20 APPOINTMENTS/COURSES

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For further information please contact us quoting appropriate reference via either email: hr@actionaid.org.uk or fax: +44 (0) 171 283 7813. Closing date 27th March 1998. Please note, only shortlisted applicants will be contacted.

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APPOINTMENTS/COURSES 21

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For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact the Appointments Department, ACU, 35 Bedford Square, London WC1E 6PF, UK (Tel: 01-444 771 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